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THE CASE FOR ISRAEL

By
William Randolph Hearst, Jr.
Editor-in-Chief
THE HEARST NEWSPAPERS

THE CASE FOR ISRAEL

The columns contained in this brochure were written for the Hearst Newspapers and have been reprinted at the suggestion of numerous individuals who share Mr. Hearst's belief that Israel should have the right to live in freedom and peace.

August, 1969

May 28, 1967

Mideast Again at the Brink

Once again the Israelis and the Arabs are facing each other on the edge of war, armed to the teeth and vowing that neither side will give an inch. For the Israelis this is certainly understandable — they just don't have any inches to spare in a country that's about the size of New Jersey. For the U.S., the crisis contains all the ingredients of another confrontation with the Soviet Union, undoubtedly at the bottom of the whole mess.

W. R. HEARST JR.

This time the principal issue at stake is freedom of navigation in a remote, sun-heated stretch of water called the Gulf of Aqaba. The gulf is Israel's only outlet to the Orient and she imports most of her oil through it. Egypt's latest 20th century pharaoh, President Gamal Abdel Nasser, has closed the gulf with his tinpot navy and says nobody goes in or out of the place without his say-so.

President Johnson, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and other countries with an interest in maintaining some kind of sanity in this world insist the gulf is an international waterway and that who goes in or out is nobody else's business, and specifically not Nasser's. The Israelis say they've got to have an outlet via the gulf, for reasons of economic survival, and that Nasser's move is an act of war.

Nasser is acting in an outrageous fashion in taking his present course, and I very much doubt he would have embarked upon it without being smugly secure in the knowledge that the Kremlin was right behind him. Otherwise he would not have risked getting his brains kicked by Israel, which has demonstrated its capacity of doing just that in the past. It might even happen again, moreover, if he tries pushing his luck or Israeli patience too far.

The crisis—for that's what it most surely is, in spite of the Soviet Union's cynical attempts in the United Nations to play the whole thing down—has its roots deep in history. And when you're talking about the Middle East, that's deep indeed. The state of Israel fought against all comers during Biblical times and was only overwhelmed and dispersed by vastly superior outside forces.

Let's look briefly at the recent history of this trouble spot.

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The UN set the state up again in 1947, under a Palestine partition plan which the Israelis accepted and the Arabs rejected. Five Arab armies, with great fanfare, came barreling into Palestine with the avowed objective of wiping it off the map. But they were whipped by a rag-tag force of Israelis and have been licking their wounds ever since.

During the shooting, though, huge numbers of Arabs abandoned their homes in Palestine, either through fear of the Israelis or in obedience to Arab military instructions. These have since constituted the area's Arab refugee population and problem. It is the principal block to any settlement of all Middle East problems and the main source of Arab fanaticism and intransigence on the entire Arab-Israeli issue.

In 1956, Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal, plus continued Arab guerrilla attacks on Israel, led to a joint British-French-Israeli attack on Egypt—an attack that saw Israel's tough, modern army virtually eat the Egyptian army for breakfast.

The British and French and the Israelis withdrew, however, under too-hastily applied U.S. diplomatic pressure. But the Israelis, in the process, secured freedom of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba, and a cessation of attacks along the Egyptian border—with both locations under the eye of a multination UN observation force.

Nobody was happy about it. Nobody really expected the stop-gap solution would work indefinitely, or that the fanatic hatred of the Arabs for the Jews would pass away. So now we are faced with the same mess all over again.

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This time it is worse, so far as the U. S. is concerned. We are already bogged down in a military showdown with the Communists in Vietnam. At the same time we are pledged, along with Britain and France, to oppose aggression in the Middle East. That pledge, first made by the Truman Administration, was repeated by Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and now by Johnson.

It seems obvious to me that the Arab-Israel crisis was deliberately plotted by Soviet strategists to take advantage of our heavy commitments in the Far East. It is likely, as has been speculated, that the Russians think they have us over a barrel and can force some kind of reasonable concession from us on Vietnam in exchange for flagging down the ardor of her Arab stooges.

The behind-the-scenes role being played by Moscow was nowhere better indicated than in the call by French President Charles de Gaulle for a summit meeting among the U.S., Britain, France and the Soviet Union to head off open warfare in the Middle East. Both the U.S. and Britain readily accepted but Russia, whose real motives face exposure by such a meeting, at press time was still shying away from it.

So what is the U. S. to do? The first thing, in my opinion, is to ignore any advice from the likes of Sen. Fulbright, whose public statements on the new crisis sound like playbacks of the Russian ambassador's tortured reasoning at the UN. The second thing is to decide that, while honoring our pledges in every way possible, we will honor them only in ways that will be in the best interests of Americans.

What concerns me most in this sticky situation is that we may get maneuvered into a position requiring us to act alone. If it comes to the point of a show of force because of our pledges, the step must not be taken unless France and Britain are equally involved. We then will be acting in a way the free world will be unable to criticize.

Even in this, however, we must exercise every caution. Before any such move comes to pass, this nation must exhaust every resource of its diplomacy both within and outside the United Nations. What I am suggesting is that if war breaks out between Israel and the Arabs, it need not necessarily entail the use of American troops for settlement. Left alone, the Israelis would win.

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In the last practical analysis, the U.S. already is engaged in a bitter and ultimate showdown with communism in the Far East. There our strength is irrevocably committed to winning an honorable peace. In the Middle East we face no such direct challenge unless we choose to so regard it.

How all this is going to turn out I obviously have no way of knowing.

One word from Russia alone and Nasser would come to heel like the cowardly bully he is.

Lacking that word or a snap of the fingers from the USSR, Israel and the Arab world seem to be on a collision course.

This coming week will determine for all time and for all to see Russia's real role in a world anxious for peace.

And it should—once and for all—teach Washington that you cannot buy off the Russians with kindness.

Communists, wherever they may be, are coldly dedicated to but one thing, and that is to undermine and eventually destroy everything we stand for.

Anybody who believes that he or we can charm the leaders of world communism off that course is either conceited or a fool or a combination of both.

June 4, 1967

Our Commitments and Common Sense

As the pressures steadily mount in the steaming Middle East crisis, so do the personal pressures on President Johnson—the one man whose decisions are likely to be crucial in the showdown. His predicament,

and his responsibilities, are literally awesome to contemplate.

No President in our history has been pinned on the horns of a more cruel dilemma. The United States, already deeply embroiled in one war, is confronted with the imminent prospect of involvement in another. And upon the President's actions could hang the peace of the world and the future of America as leader of its free nations.

That is a simple statement of fact. Unfortunately, it is so simple that a number of important voices in this country have jumped to the conclusion that the choice of action is equally clear. What the President will be compelled to do eventually, they insist, is to decide whether our stated responsibilities are to be assumed more or less unilaterally, as in Vietnam, or whether to renege on our promises.

This "or else" reasoning, which is fuzzy-minded and specious, is being advanced by many of those who have been most critical of our role in Vietnam. They say all the arguments made for continuation of that conflict, and especially the need for honoring our commitments guaranteeing the self-determination of small nations, have more validity when applied to Israel than to Vietnam.

What most of these people want, obviously, is for the U.S. to submerge its efforts in the Far East—if that is required—to meet what they see as a much more important challenge and obligation in the Middle East. Their strong urgings are complicated by personal sentiments springing from deep religious ties or a feeling that historically our primary concerns abroad should lie across the Atlantic rather than the Pacific.

I have nothing but sympathy for these emotions, since I share some of them myself. As a Christian whose religious origins are in the Holy Land, my desire always has been to see it protected as the Israelis seek to protect it—as a center of peace and fruitful growth, and The Hearst Newspapers have always given editorial support and encouragement to the struggling State of Israel from its inception 19 years ago.

But emotion should not be a factor in assessing our responsibilities in the present situation. The dangers of emotionalism already have been demonstrated in the precipitous actions of the Arab countries based solely on a common hatred. Their avowed intention of destroying Israel, either by economic strangulation or in a "holy" war, is the most difficult stumbling block to a peaceful solution of the crisis.

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So what should the U. S. do? Israel, with remarkable restraint, has agreed to withhold any military action pending diplomatic efforts to reopen the Gulf of Aqaba to her vitally-needed shipping. Egypt's Nasser, who shut down the seaway for such use with the approval of the Soviet Union, says there will be no shooting so long as his blockade is unchallenged. Eventually, of course, it will have to be challenged if Israel is to survive.

Most of the above-mentioned thinkers and letter writers with little or no knowledge of our military capabilities and with even less direct responsibility, unhesitatingly tell the President what to do. They would point American naval guns at Egypt's installations now controlling access to the disputed Gulf and give Nasser 12 hours to dismantle his emplacements—or else. This would be unilateral action with a vengence, and it might very well work. But it also would entail the awful risk of nuclear warfare with Russia and therefore would be unreasonable at this time. There is no direct challenge to America's own security in the crisis.

There is no doubt that Moscow is behind the new mess. It is a coldly calculated power play which takes advantage of our involvement in Vietnam. And unless things get out of hand Russia can continue to sit back and enjoy the fruits of her latest trouble-making. There is no doubt that Russia's responsible leaders want to avoid a big-power war.

Now it is a fact that the U.S.—both alone and previously in consort with Great Britain and France—has pledged to preserve the status quo in the Middle East. It is also a fact that this nation, and most of the other maritime nations of the world, are on record as declaring that the Gulf of Aqaba is an international waterway which must remain open to the shipping of all nations.

I am wholly in favor of appropriate action in support of these commitments, but with one all-important reservation. Whatever action is taken eventually must be taken jointly with our allies this time.

In Vietnam we have learned what it is like to fight communism virtually alone with no help and little sympathy or appreciation from our European allies. Just criticism for us and business as usual with our enemies seem to be their policy.

If the two fires had ignited at the same time, the U.S. would, I am sure, at first have gone all-out to aid Israel.

But history has not permitted us this choice. Instead, recent history has taught us a bitter lesson about fighting communism—the common enemy of the free people—alone.

Besides we have a present commitment which far surpasses all others. That is our obligation not to retreat and thus betray the more than 10,000 Americans killed thus far in the conflict with the communists in Vietnam.

President Johnson has been restrained to date in his statements on the crisis, and rightly so. There is still hope that some solution can be worked out in the United Nations, even though that hope is microscopic. Meanwhile, the really significant moves are those we have initiated to get a sizeable group of other free nations of the world to join us in enforcing our mutual convictions.

This is a proper, sensible, wholly honorable course to take. As we noted last week in this column, whenever Russia has met determined resistance to her adventures she has backed down—in Berlin and Cuba for example.

If confronted with a United Free World and its armies, airforces and navies, the overwhelming odds are that she would do it again.

Meanwhile, however, there will be only one reason if we are forced to default on our promises regarding the Middle East. It will be because our allies have defaulted on theirs.

June 11, 1967

New Deal in the Mideast

The spectacular, almost incredible military successes of Israel against her enemies will go down in history as perhaps the all-time classic triumph of an underdog. Even her own most optimistic leaders must have been astonished, though certainly not so much as the Arabs and the Russians.

Today, in the continuing confusion resulting from the Israeli blitzkrieg, three questions of concern to the whole world await answers. They are: How did it happen? What does it mean? What lies ahead?

How did it happen? How could tiny Israel, with only 2.7 million people, successfully take on the combined might of 13 Arab nations with a population of almost 100 million? How, in only three days, could she capture Jerusalem and a big chunk of Jordan, seize the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba, rout the Egyptians from Gaza to the Suez Canal and humble their power-hungry president, Gamal Abdel Nasser?

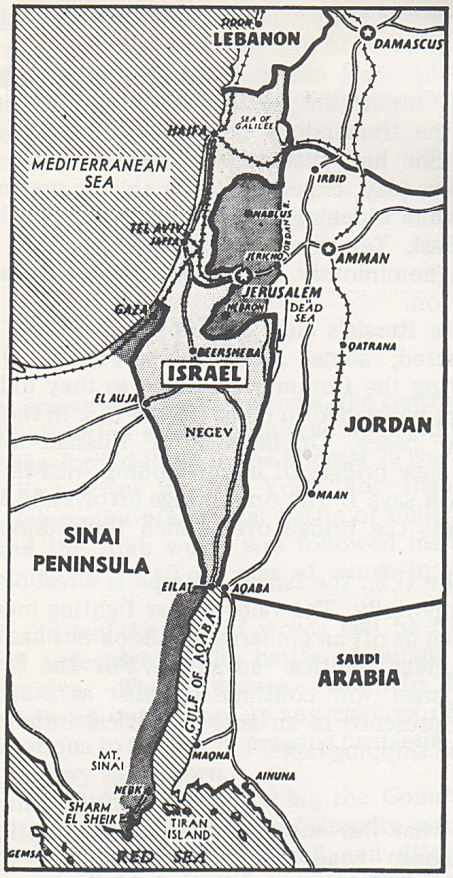
I suggest that the best single answer to the near miracle is that the Israelis simply had to smash the enemy or face the utter destruction of their 19-year-old nation. The kind of fighting morale stimulated by this sword-sharp fact obviously is far superior to the blind racial hatred which motivated the Arabs. And morale is a big factor in any victory.

But Israel, too, had superior equipment, and her armed forces were far better trained and disciplined. Tactically her chief military assets in the battle was her initial knockout punch by air. In the opening hours of the war she virtually destroyed the enemy air force. The resultant mastery of the air left her armored columns free to plunge ahead almost at will.

Both sides accuse the other of starting the war. In my book there is little doubt that Israel started the really big shooting, and no nation ever had better cause. Actually the first act of war—by definition—was committed weeks earlier by Nasser when he closed the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping. He and his allies then massed on Israel's borders, daily broadcasting their intention to sweep their hated enemy into the sea. And backing up Nasser all the while was the sinister encouragement he got from the Soviet Union.

Despite all this, Israel was incredibly patient. She waited for three weeks while the United Nations Security Council talked and talked, impotently as usual. The United States couldn't help. All our efforts to get other shipping nations to join in a challenge of Nasser's illegal blockade came to naught. Israel, in fact, was alone, threatened with imminent attack from all sides—with indeed extinction—and with time running out, she struck—and rightly so. The price of peace was suicide.

It is not unlikely that some of our carrier-based planes were in the air for vital photo reconnaissance. I'd be surprised if they were not. That the Arab claims of U.S. participation in the fighting are false is best proved by Russia's refusal to give them credence. Their intelligence, beyond all doubt, knows exactly what happened.



FOR LASTING PEACE—Adjustment of Israel's borders suggested in the accompanying Editor's Report include new territory for Israel (indicated on map by dark-shaded areas) along the Gaza Strip, a new eastern border extending south from the Sea of Galilee, down the Jordan River to the Dead Sea. Also, new territory along the Gulf of Aqaba from Eilat to Sharm El Sheik to insure that the Strait of Tiran could not be closed by Egypt. Present territory of Israel is indicated by light-shaded area.

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The Israeli victory was actually a repeat of the David and Goliath story in the Old Testament.

What the upset means is not crystal clear, but some important results are beyond dispute. First and foremost is the tremendous blow to Communist Russia's prestige. She had encouraged Nasser and his allies in their power play, expecting to be able to prevent actual warfare while widening her own influence over the whole Middle East. Yet when the chips were down, Moscow backed ignominiously away from the balky horse she had bet on.

Despite Russia's clear backdown there are, as might be expected, some American soft-heads who have been saying the Communists acted as they did because they were persuaded to do so by the U.S. in the interests of world peace. Or because of Russian interest in building new bridges of understanding with this nation. Balderdash says I. The only bridge involved in Moscow's action was the bridge over which their diplomats retreated.

For the U.S., the Israeli triumph is a real blessing—at least temporarily. The valor of her fighting men has not only taken us off an embarrassing hook but has given the West a great political advantage. For the foreseeable future, Israel will continue to exist as a strong pro-Western presence in an area of critical importance for its oil and shipping lanes.

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And what lies ahead for the Middle East—and the world whose peace is so often threatened by its problems? Unfortunately, I'm afraid, just more of the same. Defeat of the Arabs can hardly be expected to dampen their hatred of the Jews. If another bloody clash is not to take place in the future, therefore, new ways of guaranteeing peace and security in the area must be found.

Having seen the failure of past guarantees, and having just single-handedly asserted her rights, Israel should prove as balky as the Arabs in agreeing to peace terms. The UN must wring from the Arabs recognition of Israel as a sovereign nation. This is a must.

But equally vital will be an agreement by Israel to recognize and do something constructive about the plight of the Arabian refugees she displaced almost 20 years ago.

To me, one of the prerequisites for lasting peace in the area will have to be the adjustment of Israel's crazy borders. For one thing, her eastern border should be the Jordan River, doing away with all that unnatural bulge into Israel to the west of the river now claimed by Jordan.

The Gaza Strip and its refugees should be the responsibility of Israel.

Israel should hold a strip of the Sinai Peninsula from Elath south to Sharm El Sheik thus removing from Arab hands the power ever again to block Israel's access by sea to the east.

Many difficult problems lie ahead, and as always with Middle East problems they seem insoluble.

I'm reminded though of a motto of one of our outfits I ran across during the war. It went like this, "The difficult we do immediately; the impossible takes a little longer."

Mankind has always found a way.

June 18, 1967

War of Words

With almost startling abruptness, the central spotlight of world attention swept during the week from the west bank of the Jordan River in the Mideast to the west bank of the East River in New York. For—thanks to the Soviet Union—the sensational battle of bullets between Israel and the Arab world was followed instantly with the opening of an all-out war of words in the United Nations.

You can bet the war of words will be relatively as long and indecisive as the battle of bullets was short and decisive. The Russians, true to form, have deliberately set out to foul up any chances of achieving early solutions to the many pressing problems left by the recent military showdown.

Despite a lifetime of watching the Communists and their dirty work, I find myself literally astonished on occasion by their incredible gall and utter cynicism. There is no moral limit whatever to the Machiavellian maneuvering of which they are capable. What is now going on in the glass and marble home of the Great East River Debating Society is another classic example of their diabolic mischiefmaking.

As always, the Russians claim they are working for peace and security in the world. Yet, as always, their actions are coldly calculated to disrupt such aims wherever and whenever they think the resultant mess will benefit them. This is precisely what they have been doing in their present drive to have the UN brand Israel as an aggressor and to pass a resolution calling on Israel to give back all the Arab territory seized in the war.

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What the Soviets are trying to do in the UN, primarily, is to recoup through words the prestige they lost when they failed to come to the rescue of their Arab stooges with military intervention in the war. And in so doing they are encouraging the hatefilled Arabs to hope their war wasn't lost after all—that they can somehow return to the original provocative positions they held before the Israeli Blitzkrieg.

I submit it is self-evident that any nation that would do what Russia is doing in the UN is a nation whose primary concern is not peace at all. Moscow knows full

well that Israel was not the aggressor and that Israel was simply compelled to strike out to save herself from imminent total national destruction. Moscow knows equally well that the UN will never be able to force Israel to give up any of the territory she claims as essential to her future self-defense, which indeed much of it is.

This last fact is a good yardstick for showing the utter cynicism of the Russians. They failed to get the 15-member UN Security Council to pass the censure resolutions they seek against Israel. So now they are trying to get them passed by the 122-member General Assembly, although they have repeatedly in the past insisted that such an action would be illegal. And they have a good chance of success, too, since the Afro-Asian bloc of nations has a controlling balance in the General Assembly—where the vote cast by the representative of 336,000 Gambians is as important as that of the United States.

But—and this is the payoff—the Russians know that the adoption of their resolutions by the Assembly will mean just exactly nothing in itself. It would be merely an expression of opinion. Any implementation of such an opinion would have to be made by the Security Council, whose position already has been made clear.

Israel has said that peace terms must be hammered out in face-to-face talks with the Arabs. The Arabs, for their part, have vowed never to participate in such talks with the Israelis although eventually this position will be untenable. The point here is that it will continue to be tenable so long as the Russians encourage the Arabs.

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All this once again underscores the limited usefulness of the UN in a real crisis. Its fundamental flaw springs from the fact that the great powers never have been willing to arm the so-called peacekeeping organization with the authority of a superstate whose sovereignty would top their own. In the present situation it was further weakened by the incredibly weak Secretary General, U Thant, who pulled UN forces out of Egypt at the first real sign of trouble. The UN in fact, was not even useful in helping our nationals get out of the Arab world when they were ordered to vamoose.

Incidentally, this last point reminds me to give well-earned credit here to Pan American Airways for the superlative but little-known emergency airlift they operated on June 6 and 7—the second and third days of the war. At the request of the State Department, Pan Am evacuated 2,208 Americans, mostly wives and children of diplomatic personnel, in 18 flights out of Beirut. Other emergency airlifts were successfully undertaken by Pan Am from Lagos, in Nigeria, and from fields in southern Spain. It was a tough job done in superlative fashion. All Americans can be proud of this great American flag airline.

The positive and speedy action taken by the State Department in this matter, unfortunately, is in sorry contrast to the ineffectiveness of our diplomacy throughout the whole Mideast showdown—and since. Before the war broke out, we proclaimed ourselves officially neutral although our national interests would have been vitally and tragically affected by an Arab victory. In effect we were neutral on the side of Israel but even so—thanks to our chicken allies—we were unable to do anything to even help Israel break Nasser's illegal blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba.

Now that Israel won the war single-handed, thus relieving us of a tremendous potential responsibility, what have we done? Merely mumbled something about continuing our Mideast policy which calls for honoring the original territorial integrity of ALL the states involved in the conflict.

To me this is all wrong, and even worse than that. In a world of naked power politics, the policies of any nation in its right mind have got to reflect its own selfish interests. When situations are drastically changed policies must be revised accordingly. This is understood by all of the really hard-headed nations of the world. Unfortunately we too often play politics as if it were a game and expect everybody to play fair and abide by their word and some imaginary rules. The only rule that anybody pays any attention to in diplomacy is the law of self-interest.

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Israel has proven herself in sensational and heroic action to be our strong good bastion of democracy in the Middle East. The Arab land she captured with her blood is all territory whose only use to her will be to prevent easy new attacks on her people—legitimate spoils of war by any definition. On the other hand, and with no cause whatever, seven Arab states have spit in our eye by severing diplomatic relations and encouraging outrages on American property in their midst.

Under these circumstances there is no moral or practical reason whatever for our clinging to a prewar policy which held that Mideast boundaries should be sacrosanct. It is all well and good to have a policy of neutrality where our interests are not directly threatened. But in the present situation—where the issues of right and wrong are so clear, where our friends and enemies have emerged so unmistakeably —it is foolish and meaningless to pretend neutrality any longer.

Now is as good a time as any for the United States to reassert the leadership she has failed to exert in the Mideast crisis.

We can do it by making it crystal clear in a declaration to the world that we believe justice lies with the Israeli cause.

It we don't, we will be helping along the confusion and delay being created deliberately by the Communist-inspired war of words on the East River.

June 25, 1967

Double-Talk Debating Society

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—Like millions of other Americans, I was fascinated during the week by the proceedings in the United Nations General Assembly. Yet certain aspects of the palaver over the Middle East mess left me more than a little annoyed—a reaction no doubt shared by many TV viewers.

One of the things that got my goat as I sat in the press gallery was the incessant reference to Israel as the "aggressor" in the recent military showdown. Russian and Arab spokesmen used the term automatically every time they mentioned their common target. It irritated me because it is so obviously untrue and so basically irrelevant.

Technically, Israel may have started the big shooting. But to call her an aggressor is hardly applicable. The Arabs were massed on her borders, threatening to destroy her momentarily. Her striking out was clearly in self-defense, just as the problem before the United Nations clearly should be to help establish a permanent peace instead of serving as a forum for name calling.

The Russians always and only use the UN as a propaganda forum. The result is that it has been turned into little more than a debating society in which double-talk, lies and truth have an equal standing.

The Muscovite mob walked out of the hall when Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban ventured to remind them that less than 10 years ago they had proposed a UN resolution which defined aggression. It declared: "In an international conflict that state shall be declared an attacker which first commits one of the following acts: (A) Naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another state."

This same kind of willful blindness to plain truth in UN debates even affects its theoretically neutral Secretary-General, U Thant. Since he invariably is neutral on the side of the Communists, it was no surprise to me when he blamed Israel for his calamitous withdrawal of UN peacekeeping troops as soon as the going got rough in the Mid-East. It was no surprise, but it was annoying. He did the wrong thing in his haste but simply refuses to admit it.

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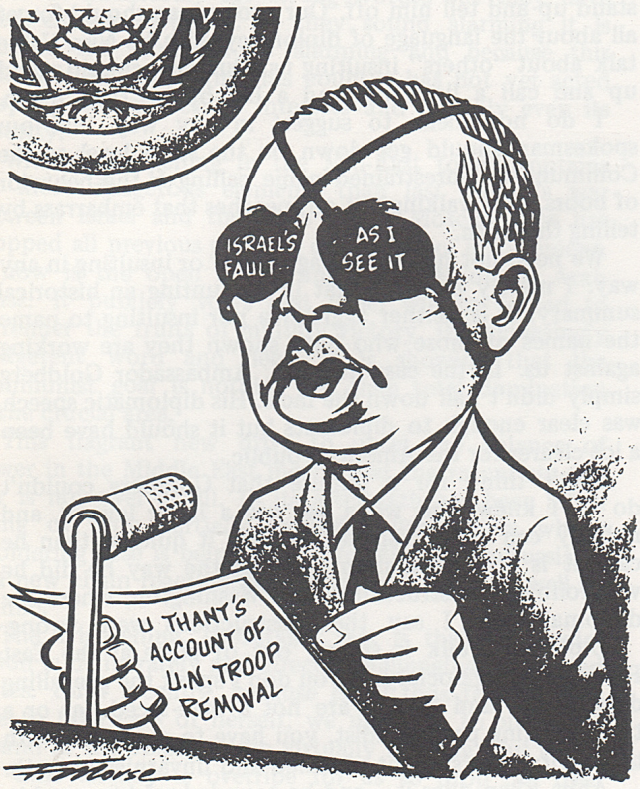
Another thing that irritated me during the week's assembly sessions, I am sorry to say, was the major speech by U. S. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg. In his case it was not what he said but what he DIDN'T say. For some reason he felt obliged to use the language of diplomacy when addressing a gathering loaded with name callers and propagandists. Time and again, he spoke of "others" who thwarted our peace initiatives in the crisis and "others" who have made false accusations against us.

Now I know there is a legitimate language of diplomacy. It is part of the intricate games diplomats play with one another. A sort of code language. Little nuances can have special meanings. Even the omission of something which normally would be mentioned in a statement can have enormous significance. But the UN debating society, in my book, is no place for such pussyfooting.

When the spokesman for the United States gets up to talk in the UN, and especially when he is being watched by millions of television viewers, that is the time to clear the record and not the time to mince words. Certainly Soviet Premier Kosygin pulled no punches when he got up to criticize us. He charged us directly with "promoting" what he called the consistent Israel "policy of conquest."

This was another splendid example of the Hitlerian "big lie" technique, blandly offered as usual in total disregard of fact. It was less than 11 years ago, in 1956, that Israel gave another trouncing to Egypt after Nasser seized the Suez Canel. Oddly enough, we—with Russia—sided with Egypt in that crisis and it might be instructive to recall what happened. Briefly, it went like this:

Nasser grabbed the Canal on July 26, thus defying



EYELESS ON GAZA

the vital interests of Britain, France and Israel. Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula on Oct. 29. France and Britain bombed Egypt two days later and belatedly followed this up by landing forces on Nov. 5. The week's delay in what should have been a blitzlike coup altered the course of history.

At that time we had a politically unsophisticated man in the White House. President Eisenhower, who took all the provisions of the UN charter as holy writ, came rushing to the rescue of Egypt like a male Alice In Wonderland. He ordered the British to cut it out and our prestige was so great that they and their allies had no choice but to accept a UN cease fire on Nov. 7, as had been urged by Russia.

Moscow later tried to take all the credit for the successful "forceful action," but it goes without saying that England did not back down because of any Russian threats, implied or otherwise. She did so because our President, reading from his Boy Scout Manual, told her to. It also goes without saying that if Eisenhower had stayed out of it, Nasser would have been in no position to stir up another war this year.

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Anyway, the point I am making here is that when the likes of a Kosygin gets up in the UN and makes phony accusations against us we ought to have a man stand up and tell him off. Our spokesman should forget all about the language of diplomacy with its Nice Nellie talk about "others" insulting us. Our man should stand up and call a lie a lie, and a liar by his right name.

I do not mean to suggest in any way that our spokesman should get down on the same level as the Communists. Unrestrained name calling is the behavior of boors, as is walking out on speeches that embarrass by telling the truth.

We need not have to be aggressive or insulting in any way. I merely contend that in recounting an historical summary, it is neither aggressive nor insulting to name the names of those who have shown they are working against us. In the case at hand, Ambassador Goldberg simply didn't nail down the facts. His diplomatic speech was clear enough to diplomats but it should have been a lot clearer for the American public.

Don't think for a minute that Goldberg couldn't do it. I knew him when he was a labor lawyer, and nobody can spot a spade and call it quicker than he can. It is obvious that in speaking the way he did he was following instructions from Washington, where the diplomats are. I say their instructions were wrong.

Diplomatic talk is simply out of place at the East River Debating Society. If you don't speak the prevailing double-talk, and if you are not a bare-faced liar or a truth-twisting propagandist, you have to come out with that rarity—the straight, detailed and unvarnished truth.

Abba Eban does it, and he sounded mighty good to me.

Postscript—I had hoped to be able to make some pertinent comment on the summit meeting between President Johnson and Soviet Premier Kosygin. Since the talks are continuing today, this will have to wait until next week, until all the facts of this extraordinary conference are in, all any of us can do is hope for the best.

July 16, 1967

Doctrine for Peace

Today's column is somewhat unusual. It is an appeal for an act of historic statesmanship by the President of the United States. It is respectfully submitted by me as a citizen deeply concerned with preventing a looming potential disaster.

For many long weeks I have been closely studying the continuing crisis in the Middle East. The conclusion seems inescapable: seldom has this nation been confronted with such a perilous situation. And unless what is happening is stopped before it is too late we may be coasting toward a head-on collision with the Soviet Union.

These admittedly are strong words, but they have been chosen carefully. If they sound alarming it is because the situation IS alarming—and because this citizen is disturbed that his country has not yet acted properly to protect its interests and possibly even its security.

What is happening in the Mid-East today contains far more dangerous elements than last month's war between Israel and the Arab states. Moscow now has dropped all previous pretense of non-direct involvement. It now is the open mover and defender of the Arab cause. It publicly vows that Israel will be forced to surrender the fruits of military victory. By increasingly belligerent word and deed, it is showing that the Communist goal is nothing less than total domination of the crucial area.

This flagrant new drive to upset the balance of power in the Middle East means that the recent six-day war is not over at all. In its aftermath has been left a string of only partially exploded firecrackers whose smoldering fuse is being fanned briskly by the Russians. If a new chain reaction gets under way, it could well be atomic.

The frightening, irrefutable fact is that the Soviet Union is deliberately and directly challenging the United States. Until recently, because Israel thus far has been able to take care of herself, we managed to pussyfoot around in the crisis and do virtually nothing. But today the time already is overripe for us to drop our own pretense of non-direct involvement.

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We ARE in this thing—right up to our precious necks—although we have made no such affirmation.

Everybody knows, especially Moscow, that we are on the side of Israel.

Everybody knows, especially our leaders in Washington, that we will not stand idly by indefinitely and what with Russia continuing to block peace moves, rearm the Arabs, park warships in Egypt's harbors and almost daily issue increasingly dire threats to Israel, something may flare up.

I believe, therefore, that it has become imperative, in the cause of world peace, for the United States to make a clear declaration of our position on the Middle East.

It should be done without further delay. Every time the Communists are in doubt about our position—are unsure just how far we will go to defend our interests—trouble erupts on a massive scale. The Korean and Vietnam messes, for example, resulted precisely because we did not serve notice in advance of our aims and our determination to enforce them.

In our history, proclamations of intent by various presidents have time and again served remarkably to deter aggressive acts in areas vital to our interests. Probably the most famous was the Monroe Doctrine, which in 1823 put a stop to European intervention in and further colonization of the Western Hemisphere. More recently, in 1947, the Truman Doctrine announcing we would give economic and military aid to nations threatened by Communism halted Red threats on Greece and Turkey. It is no exaggeration to say that many wars have been avoided because Presidents made clear our intentions in menacing international situations.

What is being suggested here is that President Johnson take the same action in the present menacing situation. The suggestion is that he make a formal statement to the world declaring just exactly what we will defend in the Middle East, exactly what we will not tolerate and exactly what we will do to insure the safety and continued existence of Israel. I believe it is incumbent on the President to do so.

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This declaration, which could go down in history as the Johnson Doctrine, should say a number of stiff things to Russia and her Arab pawns. It should proclaim, for one, that we are committed to the principle that a balance of power in the Mid-East is essential for any lasting peace there. It should proclaim what everybody already knows: that we consider Israel our friend and ally. And it should declare that we are prepared to provide our friend with all the military supplies she may request to avert a Russian-caused arms imbalance.

It should say what we think has happened in the crisis, what we think is happening now and what we will not let happen. It should say to Russia, Egypt & Co., in essence: "Look here, you started all this and you know it. Now you are whooping up another arms race whose purpose can only be the destruction of Israel. We are not going to let you get away with it."

Anybody who really desires peace—as I most certainly do—will realize that such a firm statement of position and intent would be a preventive rather than a provocative measure. It would be putting on the record, so there could be no mistake, just how dangerous a game the Communists and the Arabs are playing. It would be a far more effective deterrent to disaster than our rushing in to try to halt a fire after it gets out of control.

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The biggest handicap we have in dealing with the Communists in that normally we have to react to their initiative. It is the burglars and arsonists of the world who commit the crimes, after carefully calculating their chances, and we almost invariably get drawn in afterward to restore what law and order we can. Sometimes it is too late—but it still is not too late in the Middle East if we lay the law down right now.

Here is one time we can take the initiative. Here is one time the burglars and would-be arsonists can be warned in advance of an obviously contemplated crime that they positively will be arrested if they persist in going ahead.

That is what the Johnson Doctrine would do.

That is why its proclamation is imperative.

A global war could easily be the price of our continued inaction.

November 19, 1967

Lessons in History

TEL AVIV — Just being here is a refresher course in Biblical times. Add to that a series of informal seminars by outstanding Israeli leaders on the recent troubles and you realize why we think we've had quite a week here.

The people who have been briefing the Hearst Task Force include, among many others, Premier Levi Eshkol, General Yitzhak Rabin, Chief of the General Staff and widely credited here with masterminding the recent rout of the Arabs; and Yigael Yadin, a former chief of staff who went on to another brilliant career as an archaeologist of Dead Sea Scrolls fame.

Sandwiched between the talks have been trips to all the fronts of the recent six-day war. First in the north we visited the Golan Heights where valiant Israeli infantry and armored units blasted from bunkers Syrians who had been firing artillery into peaceful Israeli farm settlements below. Then on to the west bank of the Jordan where for 20 years the natural river border has been ruptured by a Jordanian bulge. Finally the Sinai Desert, now a vast graveyard for Russian-supplied Egyptian tanks and for Nasser's mad threat to "drive the Jews into the sea."

There's really not much hope that the Arab nations involved—Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iraq—are going to learn anything from recent or ancient history, but we can.

Since Biblical times, when Moses led his people out of the Egyptian desert into Canaan—a narrow vertical strip of land bordered on the west by the Mediterranean and on the east by the River Jordan—this has been their Promised Land. This was true even under the Ottoman Empire which ruled Palestine for 400 years.

The Turks bet on the wrong horse in World War I and Britain took over Palestine under a League of Nations mandate. Hopes for a Jewish national state soared with the leadership of Chaim Weizmann, the father of modern Israel.

Although Britain first pledged itself to the creation of a Jewish state, then hedged and stalled for 20 years, Israel came into being in May, 1948 under United Nations auspices. At the same time the British set up the Kingdom of Jordan next door and that Hashemite land celebrated independence day by leading an Arab attack on the infant Israeli state. The Arabs claimed the land Israel occupies as their own, conveniently ignoring more than 2,000 years of recorded history.

But the Israelis are a tough bunch. They took the Arabs on and were well along towards reestablishing their ancient boundaries when the peace-at-any-price UN forced cockeyed, unnatural, indefensible, demarcation lines on Israel. The UN action only encouraged the Arabs.

Egypt barred not only Israeli ships from the Suez Canal but ships of other nations heading for Israeli ports.

Israel's other bad neighbors continued to harass Jews in border settlements intent only on trying to make the poor land bloom.

When Egypt nationalized the Canal in 1956 Britain and France set in motion a military intervention. They were joined by Israel, which in a lightning strike took off for the canal, leaving a trail of enemy tanks all over the desert just like last June.

Enter now the Russian bear wearing an Arab burnoose and long flowing robes. The bear made menacing sounds and England and France pulled back—pressured also by a morally indignant President Eisenhower. At that moment Russia entered Mideast affairs in earnest.

The Russians had tried playing up to Israel which must have seemed like a promising target because the people here do practice a form of socialism and many follow the communal form of life. But Russian style Communism? Nyet!

Since the Czars, Russia has wanted to swim in the Mediterranean but nobody wanted the bear in the pond. Now the Arabs welcomed him in. But just splashing around wasn't the end of the Russian dream. Their scenario ran like this:

The Russians would so strengthen the Arab armed forces and egos so that the Arabs would tackle the Israelis again and this time drive them into the sea. The world would know the Russians were responsible. With these results Europe, needing Mideast oils, would have to be careful not to offend the Russians. Central and Southern Africa would be isolated, China, after Mao Tse-tung's passing, would see the wisdom of making up with Moscow. India and the rest of Southeast Asia could not resist the Russian-Chinese pincers.

Israel's smashing victory over the Arabs doesn't end the Russian threat. They don't quit that easily. They've already restored 100 percent of Syria's pre-June military capacity and about 80 percent of Egypt's war machine.

Still that doesn't frighten the Israelis. They say they can still handle the Arabs if the United States will do two things:

- Deter the Russians. Insure through diplomatic and other means that the Soviet Union doesn't take an ever larger role in Mideast affairs.
- Supply Israel with the Military means to deter Arab aggression. They want to buy, not beg, some planes.

The Israelis don't need any of our tanks. They already had a lot and they captured many more from the Jordanians in June.

The Israelis do need planes because they lost some in June and DeGaulle has been welching on an agreement to deliver more Mirages, the backbone of the Israeli Air Force. The military men here would like and should get United States planes which have more than proven themselves in Veitnam.

The moral of this story is that in this part of the world there are only two choices for us. The United States can side with Russia and the Arabs actively or passively and acquiesce in Soviet dominations of the area and genocide for the people of Israel.

Or we can declare ourselves the friend and defender of freedom here as we have throughout the world and side with the valiant people of Israel. It's just that simple.

December 10, 1967

In a Word, Appeasement

WASHINGTON — America's relations with Israel, our only real friend in the Middle East, keep getting curiouser and curiouser.

When the Hearst Task Force was in Israel a few weeks back we found that country's military and government leaders puzzled, hurt and a bit indignant at the role the U.S. was playing in the continuing Mideast drama.

There was the U.S. urging Israel to pull back from new (but in some instances age-old), eminently sensible and defensible borders she had established—and in one instance reestablished—during the lightning-like six days' war in June. And there we were turning a deaf ear to

Israel's requests to purchase arms that would only restore the pre-war ratio and keep her on a parity with Arab neighbors sworn to drive her into the sea.

All of this, mind you, while the Soviet Union was operating an airlift to her Arab stooges that has now replaced all but a fraction of the vast stores of planes, tanks and other equipment lost in the June campaign, and actually increased the Arabs' fire power.

That was the view from Tel Aviv, and I could share the feeling of frustration the Israelis felt.

Now I must tell you the view from Washington isn't a bit clearer, and that U.S. actions still don't make sense.

The after-effects of the six-days' war have been among the oddest in history.

As Israel's Foreign Minister Abba Eban has pointed out, it is the victor in this war who is seeking the peace terms while the vanquished are refusing to come to the negotiating table except on their terms.

The Arabs are being encouraged in their obstinance by both the Russians and President DeGaulle. The motives of both are clearcut and mostly matters of self-interest.

In return for the billions of dollars' worth of equipment they have supplied to the Arabs the Soviets have obtained a long-sought beachhead in the Western Mediterranean. Soviet warships can now be seen in Alexandria.

The French—or I should say DeGaulle, because many if not most of his countrymen are not with him in his anti-Israeli stand—is involved in a nice bit of double-dealing. DeGaulle has reneged on a transaction under which he was to deliver 50 Mirage fighter planes to Israel—and this after Israel had already paid $40 million on a $60 million contract. At the same time France is selling arms to the Arab countries, including some Mirages to Iraq.

Pure pique is part of the explanation for the French double-cross—DeGaulle is still furious with the Israelis because they proceeded with their war of survival last June despite his strictures against such a move.

Pure greed provides the rest of the explanation. Iraq recently signed an agreement with a French government oil company to exploit large fields confiscated from the British-owned Iraq Petroleum Co.

So the Russian and French motives are at least understandable, if not admirable. But how do you explain the United States' actions?

Not only is Israel the only democracy in that part of the world, the only friend of America, it is one of the few countries anywhere that has shown any appreciation of what America is trying to do in Vietnam.

Like South Vietnam, Israel is menaced by a numerically superior force serving the interests of world Communism.

Beyond that, as Premier Levi Eshkol made clear in a talk we had in Jerusalem, Israel's leaders recognize that both Israel and the United States are defending

FOREIGN MINISTER ABBA EBAN

. . . "victors seek peace terms."

democracy and freedom in different parts of the world.

Mr. Eshkol also told me that his government was working on ways of showing its sympathy for the U.S. position in Vietnam.

Perhaps it was a coincidence that the next day the Jerusalem Post carried a front-page editorial commenting on the similarities between the situation in the Middle East and that in Vietnam, and urging Vietnamese war. The editorial declared:

"At the moment both countries (Israel and the U.S.) want to end a state of war. Both want direct talks with the other side. Both refuse to enter into negotiations conditioned upon withdrawal with no guarantee that peace will be restored if they do so."

And the Post added:

"The present impasse in the Middle East can only make them (Israelis) better aware of the grave responsibility now facing the American President."

The Israeli understanding of the American position in Vietnam has had no echo here of sympathy for the Israeli position.

In her column, Marianne Means reports that the State Department, which has long harbored the delusion that some of its best friends are Arabs, is dragging its feet on the Israeli request for arms aid. (And the State Department dragging its feet can make a snail look like Man O'War.)

"Israeli emissaries here have been pressing high government officials to get the State Department moving," Marianne reports. "They are particularly depressed by the fact that despite an appeal by Foreign Minister Abba Eban during a visit in October the matter has progressed no further than the level of

Undersecretary. It has not even reached President Johnson's desk with recommendations."

The sort of thing that the United States is doing—to curry favor with the Arabs—is nothing but appeasement.

Appeasement was a shortsighted policy 30 years ago. And it's just as myopic today.

We are—at least we should be—on the side of the little Republic of Israel.

And if we are we should make it plain and act accordingly.

January 7, 1968

Flash Points '68

The Middle East—For 20 years we have been trying to carry water on both shoulders — being friendly to Israeli and Arab alike—in the hope of keeping the Soviet Union out of that part of the world. It hasn't worked.

Today as many as 50 Soviet ships ply the Mediterranean, putting in at Egyptian and Algerian ports, fulfilling a centuries-old Russian dream. Huge amounts of Soviet military equipment are scattered over the battlefields of the six days' war in June, but the Russians have replaced practically all of it.

The Soviets have thus—by pumping in modern new arms—recreated and perhaps intensified the danger of a new Arab - Israeli War. The United States, in its own best interests, and in the interest of peace in the area should provide Israel—the best and only reliable friend we have in that area—with the arms Israel needs to defend itself—by maintaining a balance of power.

It would be folly for the U. S. to expect Israel to pull back from the new borders it carved out in the June War. For these are defensible borders. Today it is less possible for the Arabs to menace Israel. As Premier Levi Eshkol told us bluntly: "The Middle East map of June 4 is dead."

January 12, 1969

Learning the Hard Way

PALM SPRINGS, Calif., Jan. 11—Once again it is the rumbling of the Middle East volcano which has dominated the week's news—its ominous possibilities taking the spotlight from national political developments and even from Vietnam.

Normally, as regular readers of this headline roundup know, I do not like to write on the same general topic two weeks in a row. But the Israeli-Arab mess is an almost inexhaustible subject.

Besides, as I said, it is where the action is.

This is not to minimize the importance of Richard M. Nixon's appointments, which strike me as generally very good indeed. Or to overlook the fact that what is happening in Vietnam and not happening in Paris is still the number one long-range concern of our country.

The really big news of the Nixon administration, however, will not begin until after Dick's inauguration on January 20. And I don't think there is going to be any big new development in the Paris peace talks until after he takes office.

So—here we go again on the Middle East, and my over-all comment is that seldom has there been such a bucket of worms involving so much stupidity and such devious finagling by so many people.

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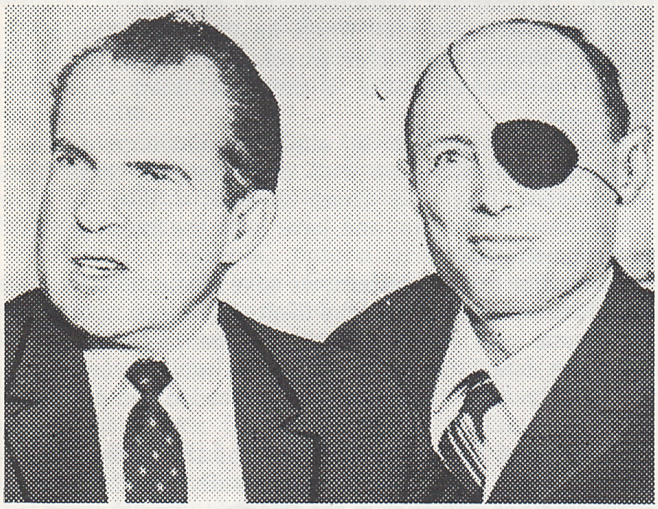
The week's Mid-East Oscar for short-sighted political deviousness, in my book, was won hands down by President Charles DeGaulle when he single-handedly dictated a total embargo on shipments of French arms to Israel.

His latest slap in the face to a natural ally, delivered without even consulting his own government, was compounded by his further decree that Israel is not entitled to return of the $100 million it already had paid him for undelivered jet fighters and other military equipment.

Spokesmen for DeGaulle said his action was taken in anger over the Israeli raid of Dec. 29 on the Lebanese airport at Beirut. They declared he considered this an inexcusable act of aggression which seriously damaged his efforts to bring peace to the area.

If Israel's raid was an overreaction to intolerable previous acts of Arab murder and terror, what DeGaulle did was a super-overreaction in turn. It was unanimously condemned by all sections of the French press except



PRESIDENT-ELECT AND VISITOR . . . Moshe Dayan with Mr. Nixon.

the radical left-wing—and there was a good reason for the exception.

Put in the simplest terms, "Le Grand Charles" once again has helped the Soviet Communists in their master plan for dominating the Middle East by trying to weaken Israel.

DeGaulle, in his frustrated desire to be a big shot on the international scene, already has turned his country from a democratic republic into a virtual dictatorship.

If he continues to throw torpedoes at the United States, Britain, Canada—and now Israel—he is going to learn the real hard way eventually that playing Moscow's games spells sure self-defeat.

The Communists always play with a marked deck—and for keeps.

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Right here is a good place to go on record as saying I regret that my own country for far too long has been playing into the hands of the Kremlin plotters so far as the Israeli-Arab situation is concerned.

We have been doing so in a sincere desire for Mid-East Peace, and that is unquestioned. What obviously should be questioned is our leaning over backward to soothe the Arabs at the expense of Israel.

Israel is the kind of friendly democratic republic we would like to see everywhere in the world. It is the only one blocking Russia's long-range expansion plans in the area. And it is the only one which will stand up and fight for our kind of principles.

Yet let's look at the record and see how we have helped hurt Israel by acts intended to court Arab friendship with us. The list is long and I have space only for the highlights, as follows:

First we created a bushel of future trouble by arm-twisting Britain into its surrender of the Suez Canal. Directly or indirectly we have given Nasser over $1 billion in aid. When he faced overthrow by English, French and Israeli troops storming at the gates Cairo we forced their withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula.

We backed Britain in sending paratroops to save Jordan; saved Lebanon with our Marines; gave arms to Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia; rushed to give recognition to Yemen, and have been the major support of Arab refugees.

Rounding out the pattern, we have regularly supported one-sided resolutions in the United Nations sponsored by Russia and its Arab stooges—the latest being to condemn Israel for the Beirut raid while overlooking the bloody Arab violence which preceded and provoked it.

And what has been the result of this policy? First and foremost, Russia has been greatly aided by us in extending her influence in the Mid-East—and throughout the whole Mediterranean area. Only time will show how seriously we have damaged our interests in this respect.

Meanwhile our rewards in the Arab world have been practically nil. Our embassies have been attacked; our flag desecrated; our libraries burned; aid diverted to military purposes, and, in general, the U. S. has been made the target of such vicious propaganda attacks as to damage our foreign policies elsewhere.

Last but actually least in importance to us is that Egypt and Algeria, both dictatorships, broke diplomatic relations with us during the Israeli-Arab war in 1967. The only significance of this is that it shows their hatred of the U. S.

I would like to think we have learned our own lesson, but I'm afraid we haven't—yet.

Still, there is hope. Those 16 U. S. Senators who assailed the most-recent UN anti-Israel action proved our national sentiment is hardly as unanimous as the Security Council resolution might indicate.

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If there is one nation in the Mid-East mess which has learned the facts of life the hard way it is Israel. It has learned them so well—in three bitter wars against the unteachable Arabs—that today it is taking no further instruction from anyone.

It has had its fill of a United Nations which time and again has proven itself incapable of preserving peace. It is up to here with broken promises by other countries to insure its right to exist.

And it is running over with determination to resist any more outside plans for settling its affairs with its enemies—particularly when those plans call for giving back all of the territory it won in the 1967 six-day war.

Various such plans are backed collectively by the UN Security Council and individually by the Soviet Union and France. Even the U. S., as noted, has gone along with this idea of trying to get Israel to surrender all it won in a life or death struggle.

It is the most ludicrous, most dishonest and outrageously unfair peace proposal I ever heard of.

Israel, conceivably, might consent to negotiate the return of some land to the Arabs in exchange for properly guaranteed access to the Suez Canal and the gulf of Aqaba.

But this valiant country, besieged on all sides by madmen sworn to destroy it, I'm sure has no intention of withdrawing from its present eastern boundary along the Jordan River.

This is an ages-old, natural geographic boundary which is absolutely vital for defense. Any withdrawal back to the grotesque, bubble-like incursion decreed by the UN in 1948 would be absurd.

No matter. Israel is not about to do it, now or ever.

Instead it is going to keep on battling for its security as it sees fit. It may make mistakes and hit back too hard, but it knows the deadly risk of doing nothing far better than anybody.

Above all, the Israelis are not about to put their destiny again in the hands of untrustworthy outsiders.

You wouldn't either if you were in their shoes.

February 2, 1969

Decisions in the News

NEW YORK—It is interesting to note how the courses of human history, as reflected in the news of the day, almost invariably pivot on some single major decision—often by one man.

Thus the three top news stories of the week—the Middle-East crisis, the Pueblo affair and Vietnam—all hinge on momentous key judgements which either have or soon will be made.

Take the Mid-East mess. No one can predict how it will turn out, but an imminent decision by President Nixon in all likelihood will be crucial.

In his Monday press conference, Mr. Nixon promised an American formula for defusing the eastern Mediterranean. He spent all day yesterday with the National Security Council attempting to hammer out such a formula and at this writing there is no telling what it is.

Right here, however, I am going to suggest a few considerations that I think the President's all-important decision should be based on.

The first thing to decide—and with no further diplomatic fooling around—is which side is right in the Israeli-Arab confrontation.

Once we have done this, it automatically becomes our moral obligation to see that the right side is helped in every way necessary by us to win the struggle.

We did this in two world wars. We did it in Korea. We are doing it in Vietnam. We must continue to do it whenever the balance of world power is threatened by the forces of aggression.

In this case it shouldn't be too tough a problem to make up our minds. So long as we adhere to our ideals and traditions, I don't see how our side can be anywhere but on the side of Israel.

We share many things with this small, brave nation.

We have the same Bible—or most of it.

We have the same general kind of representative government.

We have the same industriousness and self-reliance.

We share the same love of liberty and freedom.

This is not to imply that the Arabs, in their own way, are not a religious people. They are, but their similarities with us ends right there. The Arab world is so different from our own it could be on another planet.

Autocracy or some kind of dictatorship is the kind of government traditional to the Arab world and its generally illiterate and impoverished people. Not only do they have no desire for our kind of democracy, they are totally dedicated to its extinction as represented by Israel.

As a final consideration in openly choosing sides there is the fact that Soviet Russia—our sworn and deadliest enemy—is on the side of the Arabs. From a purely selfish viewpoint. this is the most important consideration of all.

It is high time we stopped kidding ourselves that we can ever work out a cooperative modus operandi with Moscow. Russia, will go along with us only if doing so serves its own immediate purposes.

The best way to insure peace in the Middle-East is to let the world know that we are backing Israel —to the hilt if necessary.

President Nixon's forthcoming decision, I hope, will make this crystal clear to all concerned.

April 6, 1969

Big 4 Talky-Talk

NEW YORK—This was the week when the eyes and hearts of 977,383,000 Christians in all parts of the world turned to the Middle East in observance of this sacred season of hope.

This was the week when the eyes and hearts of 13,537,000 Jews in all parts of the world turned to the Middle East in observance of the holy rites of Passover.

This was the week when the Middle East was again subjected to the hates and horrors of war and the promise of peace seemed as remote as it has at any time in the long centuries since the Prince of Peace gave his life to that end.

And this was the week when the international news spotlight focused on the United Nations here as delegates of the Big Four powers began their long awaited talks on the Middle East mess.

From where I sit, the pow-wow now under way between the United States, Soviet Russia, Great Britain and France shapes up as another marathon exercise in futility.

In the first place both Israel and the Arabs have announced in advance—and in the most emphatic language—that they will refust to accept any Big Four blueprint for peace which does not satisfy their own bitterly divergent viewpoints.

In the second place the basic Mid-East views of the U.S. and Britain are hopelessly different from those of Russia and France. Our team wants security for Israel. The other team clearly favoring the Arabs, has yet to demonstrate that it even wants a fair settlement.

About all the Big Four conferees have in common is a desire to avoid getting involved in another major war in the area. This is a desire shared by Israel, but certainly not by the hate-filled world of Nasser & Co.

Just last week, in another of his saber-rattling

broadcasts to the Egyptian people, President Nasser apologized to his audience for being unable to give them the date for their new war against Israel.

So long as Moscow continues to encourage this kind of blind belligerency by arming the Arabs—and so long as Moscow and Paris continue plotting for expansion of their power in the Middle East—all the talk in the world at the UN will achieve precisely nothing.

To me, in fact, the only encouraging news to come out of the UN this week was our long-overdue refusal to support another in the series of Security Council resolutions condemning Israel for retaliating against Arab terror attacks.

I have been burned up every time the U.S. voted for one of those one-sided censures sparked by the Russians. Both in this column and in numerous editorials I have protested loud and long that it is outrageous to rap Israel for violent acts without rapping the Arabs for their violent provocations.

There is no way of my knowing what kind of weird, behind-the-scenes diplomatic maneuvering impelled the U. S. in the past to vote along with Russia unfairly against a friend of the U. S. All I know is I am pleased that this two-faced policy apparently has been put on the shelf.

It's about time.

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By now, I suppose, most subscribers to this column know that I am an enthusiastic supporter of Israel. It is certainly nothing new. I have been a friend of this little country for a long time—ever since my first visit there in 1955.

That tour was made with Kingsbury Smith, now European Director of the Hearst Newspapers. I will never forget the tremendous effect on us of watching latter-day pioneers at work in their determination to develop a new and dynamic nation—or listening to their great inspirational leader, David Ben-Gurion, eloquently outline their dreams and problems.

In the first of a series of articles written on that visit 14 years ago, the following initial conclusion was voiced:

"From what I have seen in the few hours I have been here, I would say that it is going to take more than the resentful ill-will of 40 million Arabs to make the Jewish people abandon fulfillment of their centuries-old aspiration to have a place they can call home."

Today, after three successful wars in defense of that aspiration, what I said about the Jewish settlers goes triple.

They are not about to give up all they have worked and fought for so hard—any part of it. They are there to stay and nobody, but nobody, is going to tell them ever again what to do about maintaining their security.

They have learned the hard way that their only real security lies in their own will to fight and—when necessary—to crush the foes that keep trying to destroy them.

For more than 20 years they have seen the UN fail time and again to prevent Arab aggression, as promised. For more than 20 years they have seen the big powers of the world fail time and again to come to their rescue, as promised.

And that is why the Big Four pow-pow at the UN, or any settlement plan which may miraculously emerge, is guaranteed to be meaningless.

Israel will decide from now on what to do about its enemies.

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The ineffectiveness of the UN to enforce peace in the Middle East cannot be emphasized too strongly. It has simply proven itself as empty of substance as the previous big power promises to keep order in the area.

Right from the start, in setting up the state of Israel in 1948, the UN showed itself unqualified to deal realistically with Mid-East problems. What could be more unrealistic than the ridiculous boundaries it set for the new nation?

In carving out the big balloon of territory from Palestine's middle to placate the Arabs, the UN ignored the safety traditionally provided by the ancient natural border of the Jordan River.

It further left Israel in permanent danger of being divided in half by its enemies at a central point only 12 miles wide.

There is neither space nor point here to outline the many broken promises made to Israel. The point is that in every crisis—ranging from the earliest Arab shelling from the Golan Heights to Nasser's shutdowns of the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba, the UN did precisely nothing but talk.

So now the UN Big Four are chewing the fat again, seeking some kind of agreement to help the Israeli-Arab standoff—and I predict we are going to get six months or so of precisely nothing but hot air.

If the Big Four want to do something REALLY constructive, they could agree to stop meddling with the Middle East and let Israel and the Arabs settle their differences in their own way.

This could and should be done with no limitations on arms shipments to the area.

And it could and—above all—should be done with a clear understanding that if another full-scale war between Israel and the Arabs breaks out, the Big Four will stay the heck out of it.

I have no worries that Israel would be able to take care of itself.

William Randolph Hearst Jr.

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